

OF BRITISH GUIANA

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out on a hunting expedition, accompanied by the men of the settlement who are related to the bride by blood or marriage. The object of this expedition is to prove the young man's fitness as a meat provider for his future family. During the early part of the day's hunt, his companions place every possible hindrance in the way of his obtaining a bag, such as making noise when a quarry has been sighted, or rocking the canoe as the hunter takes aim while on the river. This is a very hilarious occasion for the other participants and a very embarrassing one for the groom, who will be rejected if he returns empty handed. If the groom is at all acceptable to the bride's relatives, however, they usually arrange that, after a day of tribulations, he will get some sort of bag to bring home. During his residence in the settlement they have had ample opportunity to form an opinion concerning him. The hunting expedition is apparently merely a formality, as it is a rare groom who does not know fairly well whether or not he has passed the examination of his future in-laws long before the time for the final test arrives. [522] 584

Upon the return of the hunting party, an offering of drink is made to the spirit of the house, a spree takes place, and the young couple settle down to married life. They usually live in the girl's settlement until the birth of the first child. Later they may move elsewhere. 585 591

A man taking a second wife, either as a widower or as the master of a polygamous household, merely requests her from her father, giving the older man some small present or services in exchange. The house-building, field-cutting, and hunting tests are not considered necessary in the case of a man who has previously been married, since he has already given evidence of his fitness. 587

It is apparent that marriage, coincidental with matrilocal residence, entails the acceptance of the groom by the group to which the bride belongs, which we shall call the extended family. Marriage thus involves a sort of contract between a man and his wife's group, but does not involve a contractual relationship between his own relatives and those of the bride. 602

After marriage a certain reserve exists between son-in-law and father-in-law. A man never gives his father-in-law direct orders or suggestions, but always speaks to his wife about the matter in hand, and she transmits her husband's ideas to the older man. On 606

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582 marriage frees a man from having to work for his spouse. . . .
 604 The relatives of a woman acquire through her marriage not only
 171 a servant in the person of her man, but also in her daughter a
 woman for whom one does not need to serve (because of her
 father's prior obligations to the family of his wife). The taking
 of this daughter makes a man free of a part of his obligation."
 Another explanation for the usage is reported from the Tupinamba
 (Coastal Tupi) on the authority of Soares de Souza, according to
 Kirchhoff. Here a man marries his widowed sister's daughter as
 a means of providing for the widow, and thus bringing him and her
 under the same roof. Of the two motives here mentioned which
 might have given rise to marriage with sister's daughter, the first
 appears to be applicable to the Barama Caribs in preference to
 the second, which is not compatible with the usage of the levirate.

601 One term in the Barama system I am unable to explain and
 believe that it must be regarded as an error. This is the term
 wa'ako which a woman applies to her older brother, the same
 term being applied by both men and women to older sister.

171 In concluding our remarks on the Barama Carib system as
 614 such, we may point out that its general principles have been found
 587 to be characteristic of the other Carib groups in South America.
 According to Kirchhoff's survey of the social organizations of
 northeastern South America, the Caribs are characterized by the
 following usages: (1) Absence of sibs or dual organization; (2) distinction,
 based on levirate and sororate, in the three middle generations
 between maternal and paternal lines; (3) impermanent
 [591] matrilocal marriage.¹ The Arawak groups, on the other hand, seem
 to be characterized by matrilocal marriage and an organization
 of matrilineal unlocalized sibs, which among the Lokono at least
 are organized into exogamic moieties. The Uitoto and Bora have
 patrilocal marriage and patrilinear localized sibs.

602 In the light of usages involved in the kinship system we see
 612 that a Barama Carib recognizes one group of his relatives, the
 "parallel" relatives, more definitely than other relatives. The
 latter are terminologically undistinguished from other persons.

¹ Kirchhoff, 1932, s. *Die Verwandtschaftsorganisation*. This author has examined the literary sources dealing with the following Carib groups: Tamanak, Macusi, Taulingpang (Arekuna), Yekuana, Ginau, Aparai, Rukuyenne (Oyaba), Galibi, Kallinago of the Lesser Antilles, and Cumanagoto. Among the Aparai marriage is said to be patrilocal.

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These persons, whom a man calls "brothers" and "sisters," remain in a special relationship to him throughout his life. As will be seen in the study of the village of Sawari (following chapter), "brothers" tend to group together to form a settlement and assist one another in social and economic affairs in the settlement. They support one another in feuds and retaliation. A woman's brothers support her against a cruel or lazy husband. In all activities the members of the group of parallel relatives cooperate more closely than do other relatives. Membership in the group begins at birth and continues for life. Due to the customs regulating residence after marriage, there is no necessary connection between locality and the kin.

The Extended Family. A third type of grouping is the extended family, the immediate family which is, in other words, extended by marriage of its members. When a girl marries, her husband becomes, for a time at least, intimately associated with her family, because of the custom requiring the husband to perform services before marriage under the eye of his future father-in-law and after marriage to live in the father-in-law's settlement, usually at least until the birth of the first child. Thus a family, upon the marriage of its daughters, from one point of view undergoes a special transformation consequent upon the addition of strangers in the persons of sons-in-law. The sons-in-law, however, do not take the place of the sons who through marriage have joined other extended families. The husbands of the daughters are not taken into the family, which still maintains its biological limits and individuality. This is shown by the fact that special deference is paid to parents-in-law. During the period that marriage remains matrilineal, the sons-in-law cooperate actively with the fathers-in-law and with other members of the latter's families who still remain at home. Later opportunity or preference usually impels the younger man to move elsewhere, but a bond still remains between the husband and his wife's kindred which is reflected in mutual cooperation. This bond is, however, slighter than that uniting a man and his parallel kin. With the death of the wife or of the father-in-law mutual obligations are considered ended.¹

¹ "Among the Roucuyenne and Orinoko Caribs an extensive connection between fathers-in-law and sons-in-law has arisen which has led to a regular hierarchy of graded affinal relations." Kirchhoff, 1932, a, *Die Verwandtschaftsorganisation*, p. 189.

III

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND POPULATION SIZE

175 From 1932 to the present, the core of Carib people who have
162 remained in the Upper Barama River area have been recruited from the
indigenous population.¹ The continuity of the 1970-71 population
with that existing in the Upper Barama River area during 1932-33 is
readily apparent. First, one person is present at both time periods.

159 Charlotte² was an adolescent wife of John Miller, the headman of
621 Savari, when Gillin made his study (1936:118). She is now a widow in
her late fifties and lives with her two daughters and son-in-law at
the Air Strip. Charlotte's son by Adolphus Miller, who took her as
a wife when his father died, is also present. Two other children of
John Miller, a son and a daughter whose mother was Charlotte's sister
also are in residence at the Air Strip. These relationships are
summarized in Figure 5.

Tracing the continuity in a different manner, Rosa Jacob is about
60 [602] sixty years old and is a prominent resident at the Air Strip. She
can recall a kinship relationship to all of the other residents. She
is a cross cousin to John Miller, his father's sister's daughter. Of
162 course, all of these people except Rosa are deceased. Exact relation-
602 ships among all individuals in the population cannot be established
as memories are shallow regarding kinship. Nevertheless, it can be
safely assumed that all members of the Upper Barama River Carib

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 38]

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib
(1932-1971) Barama River

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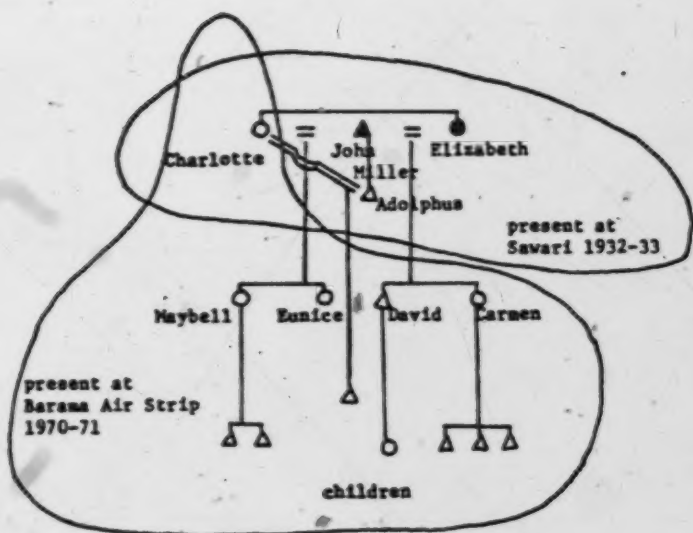


Figure 3. Offspring of John Miller among the Current Population.

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602 population are related in some manner.

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571 In addition to a generational continuity of the human group
164 involved, there has also been a continuity in interaction. That is,
during the period under consideration, material exchanges and the
migrations of individuals among Carib settlements in the Upper
Barama area have been more pronounced than such exchanges with out-

(121) side settlements. This permits the Upper Barama Caribs to be
identified as a single adapting population for the purpose of this

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361 analysis (Rappaport 1969:184). However, the frequency of contacts
and the nature of movements among settlements have changed. Specifi-
cally, small, dispersed, semi-nomadic social units have given way to
nucleations around centers where external resources are available.

In this context, different settlement patterns would appear to
represent different adaptations devised by the same group of people
(161) to meet differing conditions. Differing rates of population growth
also would appear to be the result of the changing circumstances.

Settlement Pattern

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161 During 1932-33, Gillin estimates a Carib population of not more
361 than 600 for the entire Barama River area (1936:113). In all,
thirty-three settlements were located along the Barama River (1936:
110). About ten³ were above Towakaina (see Figure 6). This includes
the Savari⁴ settlement for which more complete population data were
175 recorded. The population for this settlement consisted of forty-seven
161 individuals (1936:110). Since the primary adaptation was to the rain
162 forest, there were no reported concentrations of population in the
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(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 40)

000 daughters under twelve years of age.

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557 As is apparent, a man's position in a settlement was in part the
621 result of his human capital of female relatives, sisters and daugh-
602 ters, and how he used these to attract men around him. However, a
son-in-law was only a temporary dependent. In contrast, the associ-
ational bonds that developed between cooperating parallel kinsmen
had no definite time span. There occurred varying degrees of cooper-
ation as well as numbers of men involved, the only limit to the re-
location of a household being the several months needed for a field
to begin to be productive. However, in the context of the cooper-
ation among related kinsmen, a general pattern emerges with regard to
a man's life career. Except for old David, all the men in Sawari
were younger than Miller, Cook, and Edwin. These three men, at about
age forty, were no longer dependents as the younger men were, but
were established in their own clearings. They were having different
success attracting young men according to the contingencies of avail-
[37] able female relatives as well as their personal qualities. When
their energies and human capital were becoming exhausted, they again
would be dependent members in a settlement, much as old David.

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621 Such dispersed settlements, which fluctuated in size from about
fifteen to fifty individuals, constituted the largest social unit
(Gillin 1936:141). Within settlements, there was no differential
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[754] access to local subsistence resources. Individual men who were
shamans or sorcerers privately owned knowledge and magical skills,
but this had little effect on their participation in the subsistence
000 routine. A headman was recognized in each settlement (John Miller in

*177 1969 have had consequences in the interrelationships among Carib
592 households. Cooperation within households developed as men were
464 first employed by porkknockers. A young boy would accompany his
father on such employment and to some extent share the uncertainty
of his father's employment. Usually the father collected and managed
the wages earned by his young son. Also, young unmarried brothers
would work together during these early opportunities. However, this
is still a recruiting of work partners from the existing household
unit.

*177 As job opportunities became more substantial, the composition of
593 the household changed. The cooperation between father and son was
464 maintained as was that between father and son-in-law. This partner-
606 ship persisted beyond the son's or son-in-law's youth to his position
as a married adult, himself a father of children. Employment oppor-
tunities held these trans-generational pairs together. The instru-
mental nature of friendship among brothers, real and classificatory,

• [602] diminished as household members became allied by employment. The
*177 general emphasis on cooperating partners of the same age shifted to
476 a trans-generational recruitment pattern. In contrast to extra-
464 household, associational work relationships, the new work opportuni-
ties promoted father-son and father-son-in-law cooperative bonds. As
males secured employment, they tended to disassociate from the

*177 pattern of sharing resources with a group of cognatic kinsmen. Thus,
464 employment opportunities of any duration acted to stabilize partner-
592 ships within a household, and as a consequence, the presence of a
son-in-law was no longer indicative of a transitional phase and a

2: Adams E-4, 5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

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TABLE 12

RESIDENCE AND KINSHIP AND WORK RELATIONSHIPS AMONG MINERS, 1969

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Residential Group (In Time)	Estimated Ages of Men	Relationships	Years of Employment with Baird
1.	55 25	father son	over 15 over 6
2.	75 40	father son	previously ca. 10 ca. 4
3.	65 35	man son-in-law	never employed ca. 16
4.	50 30 25	father son son	ca. 15 ca. 2 ca. 6
5.	60 30 20	father son son-in-law	ca. 12 ca. 10 unemployed
6.	50 30 30	father son son-in-law	ca. 15 ca. 10 ca. 10
7.	30 20	man son-in-law	ca. 8 unemployed
8.	35 25	man brother-in-law	ca. 12 ca. 6
(Big Creek)			
9.	45 20	man son-in-law	ca. 16 unemployed
10.	25	Baird's son	steadily employed
11.	50 30 25 20	father son-in-law son-in-law son	previously ca. 1 ca. 10 ca. 2 previously ca. 1

2: Adams E-4, 5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR8 Carb SR9
(1982-1971) Barama River

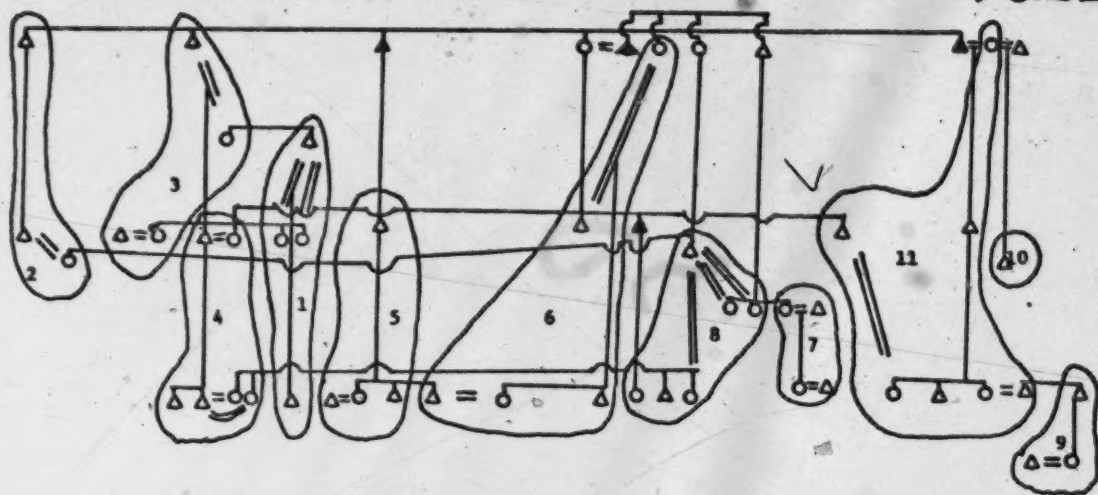


Figure 12. Kinship Relationships and Cooperative Boundaries among the Carib Men Residing near In Time and at Big Creek, 1969."

⁴ Only the most immediate kinship relationships are detailed, although wider affiliations add much more complexity. Accordingly, wives are only represented when they are links in the relationships among these men.

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(21) Among the other men in these households of miners, those not employed are either old enough to be retired from this work or too young to have begun an employment career. Thus, a household included up to three adult men in different stages of involvement with employment opportunities. The trans-generational recruitment of work partners is clear. As a pattern, the older men who had been employed for a substantial number of years attracted to their households sons and sons-in-law. The older men would seek employment on their behalf. An exception to father-son and father-son-in-law recruitment pattern is the man with a work partnership with his wife's younger brother (cluster 8 in Figure 12). In this case the age difference is still apparent. As a pattern, the younger partner was brought into an employment opportunity at an age when he was a dependent in an established miner's household. The younger man became another link in the client relationship the older man had established with Baird. Any further elaboration with regard to the pattern of life cycles of men or households under the circumstances of employment in mining was terminated with the cessation of In Time mine in 1969.

(571) In any case, this household organization was not dictated by the nature of the work, but rather by the manner of securing and maintaining the work.³ As is abundantly apparent from Figure 12, • (602) Baird's workers were close kinsmen. Nevertheless, with the limited number of jobs available, there was no opportunity for these men to use kinship ties to form any independent corporate organization.

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571 Rather, employment opportunities in the mining tended to eliminate economic cooperation between households by introducing an external broker between them.

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

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broker between them. At times, rivalry was evident when a worker had been suspended for two weeks, as was the standard practice for failure to turn out for a scheduled work period. The suspended man would have his wife make a batch of cassiri, and he would hold a spree for other miners who often suspected the plot but could not resist the invitation. In turn, the guests would be too inebriated to work, and the first miner would be immediately reinstated as constant workers were needed to maintain the mining enterprise.

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From the pattern of social organization attending subsistence farming in the rain forest, father and son and father and son-in-law ties have been solidified by strategies to secure employment. In this case, previous nuclear families with ties of assistance among a wider kin group, effective organization for exploiting the bush, were changed by the circumstances of the availability of employment. However, the record of impermanence regarding work opportunities and other markets has contributed to a general lack of explicitness regarding work partnerships and residential practices among the Upper Barama River Carib population during the last forty years. The organization of the population with no access to steady mining employment also has been affected by the increased availability of regional exchange opportunities. This is best detailed in the discussion of the situation during 1970-71.

Resettlement around Baramita Air Strip

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The current residence situation among the Upper Barama River Carib population has resulted from the pattern described by Gillin,

175 cross cousins, brothers-in-law, and male cross cousins' sons. Again,
582 a particular male may fall into more than one of these relationships.

All strange males of approximately the same age are also included.

175 Thus, this kinship system is in keeping with the subsistence
605 organization among the Upper Barama River Caribs for the time period
• 602 before the introduction of external resources. Adult brothers as well
[496] as parallel cousins tended to render each other mutual assistance and
[593] thus live near each other. With the practice of cross-cousin marriage,
[582] these men tended to marry sisters or women who were parallel cousins
to each other. Thus, a child tended to grow up in the company of his
[768] parallel cousins, who were equated with his siblings. If his actual
[736] mother or father died or otherwise left, they would likely be replaced
by other individuals already in the child's horizon of interaction as
people in the categories of mother and father. Symmetrical cross-
[582] cousin marriage was extended to provide for the contingencies of re-
cruiting marriageable partners in a small population. With regard to
marriage with sister's daughter, this is not a separately designated
category. Rather this person is merged with a much larger category
of marriageable individuals.⁸

*177 The new organizational strategies are apparent in changes in the
601 kinship system. The discontinuation of mutual assistance among men
[496] who are brothers or parallel cousins and a greater longevity of
people have change elements of this system. In the first ascending
generation, father and father's brother and mother and mother's
sister are all separately designated. Previously, father and father's
brother were one identity. Mother and mother's sister were also
merged as one category.

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582 seventy-seven marriages in existence among the Air Strip segment of the population, twenty-two were actual cross cousin marriages. No marriages occurred among parallel cousins. One marriage has occurred outside specified categories. There is one instance of a union between a man and his granddaughter. The woman grew up with her grandparents. When the grandmother died, she became the wife. They now have five children and are discriminated against in no way.

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584 Marriage now involves the interests of a much more limited group of people, specifically the nuclear family and the member being added through a marriage tie. No longer are there tests of any sort for the new son-in-law. Principally, this is because no longer is there a category of cooperating kinsmen to administer them. Among specific individuals, token gifts, such as a new matapi, may be made by a new, nonresident son-in-law. However, this is not formalized. Also, the previous display of deference between a new husband and his father-in-law and mother-in-law has been greatly abandoned.¹¹ Much more, the personalities of these individuals now influence the nature of their relationships.

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601 Consistently in this investigation of kinship data, causes external to the system have been outlined. The kinship system and changes in it correspond to adaptive organization among the Upper Barama River Carib population. The adaptation effective for subsistence in the rain forest has been replaced by a social organization for the inclusion of external resources. Throughout this inquiry into social organization among the Upper Barama River Caribs, the material conditions, specifically the resources available, have been considered.

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To summarize, the extent of generalized reciprocity and, conversely, immediate exchange involving labor and material goods have been used to identify resource-sharing social units among the Upper

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Barama River Carib population. Over time, the resource-sharing boundaries have changed. In a position of relative isolation in the rain forest when Gillin studied them, the Upper Barama River Caribs evidence no pattern of material exchanges outside the settlement.

This was a social unit fluctuating in location, size of population, as well as life span. Within settlements, further organization consisted of clearings and, within clearings, households. People resident in settlements tended to consist of a category of cooperating kinsmen. Among them, the exchange of labor and the sharing of tools and food was patterned on a generalized basis. Since the introduction of wage employment and other regional markets, the population has become centralized by participation in common regional networks of

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exchange. Settlements have tended to become more permanent and larger in population size. Households have tended to become separated from ties of generalized reciprocity with a wider kinship group. Exchanges directly between Carib households are now conducted with money or

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other immediate payments. However, there are no permanent stores of resources to support corporate organization or other institutional elaboration, and this population has been politically organized only to the extent that a local administrative structure has been imposed.

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Among the Upper Barama River Caribs, aspects of the regional networks of exchange have promoted certain kinship ties and dissolved others.

VI

CONCLUSIONS

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[121] In the previous chapters, attention has been given to the correlations over time of resources available for exploitation and the size and organization of a single population. The economic and reproductive adjustments of the Upper Barama River Caribs have been investigated. In their specific pathway from relative isolation in the rain forest into a national political economy, social organization and population size have been related to resource development. As [438] this population has been centralized by common participation in [592] networks of regional exchange, the household has emerged as the resource-sharing social unit. Ties of general reciprocity with a wider kin- [476] ship group have tended to be dissolved. Another type of organization [602] which has emerged to consolidate advantage in the regional economy [571] has been client relationships with a middleman patron. In addition, [657] external sources of food and clothing and medical care have tended to override relationships between population size and adaptation to local [61] rain forest resources. An accelerating rate of population growth is currently evident among the Upper Barama River Caribs. In short, this population has evidenced changes in organization and increased population size under the conditions of its national integration.

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105 Adapting to the rain forest, the Upper Barama River Carib population participated in the direct organism-to-organism cycling of